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Kennedy as President

Selig S. Harrison

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Tokyo Blowup

★ Two weeks ago this column suggested that Eisenhower call off his Tokyo trip. Last week we noted Japanese neutralism and asked "how realistic the Administration's appraisal of the situation is"? This week we must try to pick up the pieces.

When Eisenhower returned from the Paris fiasco a banner across Pennsylvania Avenue read "Thank you, Mr. President!" It symbolized the self-deception encouraged by officials and a pro-Eisenhower press. Things happen in the American press – but why is left a mystery. What really happened in the past month is that Eisenhower took personal responsibility for the U-2 incident and thereby instantly destroyed his not inconsiderable value as a goodwill agent in the cold war. Khrushchev could no longer deal with him. His trip to Russia became impossible. And now we find that it made his trip to Japan impossible.

Does the President understand this as he indulges what the *London Economist* calls his taste for "trivial peregrination"? We doubt it. *New York Times*-man Harrison E. Salisbury, June 18, reported the President's views while on his cruiser *St. Paul* in the Pacific. "Aboard the *St. Paul*," Salisbury wrote, "the President appears somewhat isolated from world news sources, despite the most modern electronic media of communication." Twenty-four hours after the Tokyo cancellation the President had not had any report of world reaction, Salisbury disclosed. "There is no sign that the President feels any responsibility for the course of events either at the Summit meeting or regarding the Japanese trip. . . . The President gives no sign of feeling that errors of judgment might have been made . . ."

Bewildered Americans have had another stunning shock. The official version seems to be that the Tokyo blowup was all the fault of a tiny minority of Communists. This is no place for irony, but how strong is a Japanese ally that cannot control a tiny minority?

The Adjournment Rush

★ The next two weeks are the most fascinating time in Congress. It will adjourn around July 4. It is tardily telescoping a whole legislative session into this period. Unfortunately the average reader cannot hope to keep track of the adjournment rush. The press can't keep up with it either. It is a matter of hourly developments. You have to be here in person to see lobby and influence blocs operate in the critical period for which they have waited two years.

Around midnight June 17 Lyndon Johnson brought up the big 1960 tax bill. It included repeal of the Federal telephone and transportation taxes – a flat Treasury loss of $742 million. Liberal Senator Joseph Clark (D, Pa.) protested. This was no time to cut taxes without replacing them with other taxes, he said. Why not plug existing tax loopholes – the vicious 17½ percent oil depletion allowance, for example?

Clark and other liberals had circulated a petition for a Democratic tax caucus – a move that invariably infuriates Johnson. Watching his angry personal attack on Clark last Friday and Saturday one could only wonder what kind of a majority leader Johnson would make if, say, Kennedy became President? Johnson is a proud, able, imperious and extraordinarily sensitive man; he seems hardly able to abide the thought of another Senator getting the Presidential nomination. All through his leadership it is the militant liberals who have irritated him – a group for which he barely hides his contempt.

As to taxes in this time of world crisis, this column feels that, if anything, they should be raised, not lowered. But with a budget surplus in sight 12 months hence, the election mood seems to be to begin spending the money now.

One of the biggest lobbies in the nation is the American Medical Association. It is easiest to think of it as a kind of trade union. It has pushed up membership requirements until there is an acute nationwide shortage of doctors. The late Robert Taft brought in a bill for Federal aid to build medical schools; the AMA called it "socialized medicine," and it was dropped. It has just got through new restrictions against using foreign doctors in US hospitals. A generation ago it fought the social security act as it is now fighting the Forand bill. Every other big country has some form of state insurance for sick old people; not the US. Anybody with a sense of history knows that Federal health insurance sooner or later is inevitable. Canada almost has it already.

The House Ways and Means Committee has approved another type of bill – one that the AMA has indorsed. All it does is let Washington aid states to pay some medical bills for poor people. It is not insurance at all. The AMA fears that the Senate will broaden this bill.

The AMA proposal doesn't go even so far as Eisenhower's. Eisenhower accepts the theory of private old-age health insurance on a voluntary basis. A measure of that sort is in the works. But, as Governor Rockefeller says, this approach is fiscally unsound. By contrast, the Forand bill ties medical insurance to the existing old age insurance system where it should be, and where inevitably it someday must be. The recent Democratic primary contest in California showed the enormous voting potentiality of the so-called senior citizens. Any wise political party would grab the issue. The final days of Congress will show just how powerful the AMA is in holding back the inevitable.

Weather Vane for 1960

★ Tuesday (June 28) comes a special election in North Dakota that will set the tone for the Democratic convention in Los Angeles 12 days later. Republican Governor Davis is running against Rep. Quentin Burdick (D) for the Senate seat of the late William Langer, a Republican maverick. How important is the "Benson issue" in this traditionally Republican farm state? How much will it figure in the rest of the farm area? Other GOP Senate seats are at stake this year in South Dakota, Kansas, Iowa, Colorado and Nebraska. The last pre-convention political weather vane of 1960 comes in North Dakota.

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That Old Red Magic

The Communists have subverted many of us by giving us an easy out when we fail. We can blame it on the Red devil, and whether we're right or wrong, the explanation satisfies our self-regard. So it is with recent events in Japan.

Take the report of *The New York Times* Tokyo correspondent, Robert Trumbull. He writes that "the historical isolationism of Japan had left these molders of public opinion [teachers, communications media, labor, youth movements] extraordinarily susceptible to Communist ideas, as a possible guide to the new spiritual direction sought by the Japanese since the old absolute values had perished in the debris of World War II." The result, he says, "is that one finds today an overwhelming Leftist bias [a bias, one might add, characteristic of a very large part of the world] in the press, television and radio coverage of events. This exists also on the campus, in the school room, in labor and in literature, the theater and the arts." In other words, the elite has been subverted, and it is an elite that often in the past has shown its capacity to make revolutions; for the apathetic and indifferent do not make a nation's history.

But what has the US to fear from a "Leftist bias," unless it is a captive of forces directed from Moscow or Peking? And if it is the captive of Communism we must discover what has made it so. By what special powers have "Communist agents," to return to Mr. Trumbull's report, "moved in with swift efficiency?" Are they more "spiritual" than non-Communists? Do the Communists have a larger or more efficient CIA or USIA than we? Are they more intelligent, more numerous, more disciplined, more in touch with popular desires? And if any or all of these are true,why?

Consider the handicaps under which these agents who have "moved in with swift efficiency" have been operating in Japan. The American occupation was not only fair, it introduced a democratic revolution that was popular. We have helped the country to its feet. As compared to the Russians, we have no territorial disputes with the Japanese. Communist agents, on the other hand, must suffer accusations that they are stooges of a foreign power, a totalitarian power; they must defend the harsh regimentation in neighboring Red China; they bear the active hostility of the government, all the organs of state power and the powerful business community. On top of all this, the Communists must persuade not a proletariat and peasantry bowed down in classical Marxist misery; on the contrary, according to Mr.

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Trumbull, "the bulk of the population is enjoying the greatest prosperity in the country's history and a degree of personal freedom unsurpassed anywhere. . . ."

Why, then, would thousands of Japanese permit themselves to be "herded" (to use *The New York Times* editorial word) into the streets? And if they were "herded" by the Communists why were they not more violently anti-American, for the restraint of the demonstrators must not be overlooked. The mobs broke into an American compound but destroyed nothing, hurt no one. Americans were on the streets during the rioting, yet were not molested. The rioters had an opportunity for nearly an hour to harm Mr. Hagerty, but didn't. Whatever the intent of the Communists, the Japanese appear not to be under the spur of some temporary anti-American passion. Their behavior is much more purposeful than that.

No single explanation suffices for the intensity of feeling against granting the US a 10-year lease on land, sea and air bases, but one that covers many of the facts is that the Japanese are victims of a cultural lag. They cling to a vision offered them by the United States at the end of the war – Japan as a "Switzerland in Asia," and more than a Switzerland – a *disarmed*, neutral country. Our government required them to renounce war; they happily complied. Military domination got them into a tragic war that they couldn't finish, into a situation where the populace at large no longer had control over its own affairs. They and only they had experienced atomic destruction. They are not prepared psychologically for the military commitment to the US on which Kishi's government staked all.

Moreover, the value of these bases to the security of the United States surely depends upon how much they would cost to retain, how secure they would be, and how much would be lost by not having them. They were useful in the pre-missile era of 1950 before the American nuclear monopoly had disappeared. In the Korean War, US occupation forces and the existence of supply lines, bases and airfields in and around Japan were major military assets; and future military aggression in Asia cannot be ruled out – one need only think of a divided and unstable Korea, and of the unresolved conflict in the Formosa Strait. But the vulnerability of such bases today to missile attack should cause us to re-examine their importance. And since the bases could not be employed in war without Japanese consent, Japanese public opinion is worth considering.

The present danger is not so much the danger of Communist military invasion of the Japanese islands; it is that by forcing the issue of the US-Japanese treaty *now* we will help precipitate further disorders in Japan, strengthen anti-Americanism, and conceivably provoke a complete breakdown of parliamentary government.

The US Senate has been under strong State Department pressure quickly to ratify the treaty, and although a few long-headed Senators such as Hubert Humphrey have counseled delay, the treaty may have been approved by the time this *New Republic* is printed – a treaty, let it be remembered, that was adopted by the Japanese Diet in a surprise vote while the opposition parties were boycotting the session. The earlier State Department argument that prompt ratification (indeed the Eisenhower visit) was essential to save the Kishi government has no merit now, for Kishi is bound to go – and a government that can be saved only by this sort of intervention is hardly a dependable ally. Japanese resentment against their own government will increasingly be directed against ours. The Senate, if it were to act wisely, would delay ratification until it is known what the Japanese want, what government is to follow Kishi, whether this rift is soon going to be healed or not. It would allow the Japanese now to take the lead, avoiding any impression that the US is too eager. No treaty is worth much unless it is freely entered into by both parties, and unless, once signed, it has the force of mutual consent behind it.

Humphrey for Vice President

Since, as Nelson Rockefeller has remarked, "this is no ordinary election," why should ordinary considerations be observed in choosing Vice Presidential candidates? From the time the 12th Amendment was adopted in 1804 – separating the electoral vote for President and Vice President – it has seemed demeaning for a first-class man to admit an interest in the second place. President Eisenhower has contributed to elevating the rank of what Bryce called "that more ornamental than useful officer" but why should it not be restored to the importance the Founding Fathers intended – the second choice of the Presidential electors?

The two most likely Presidential candidates in 1960 are more than usually alert to the desirability of strengthening the powers and prestige of the Vice President – Richard Nixon through eight years of playing the part; Jack Kennedy through months of study as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Government Reorganization, which in 1956 conducted hearings on the Hoover proposals for lightening the burdens of the Presidency. Mr. Eisenhower's recurring physical vicissitudes have awakened the public to the problem of assuring competent succession. As Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. pointed out 10 years ago, "With democracy constantly being subjected to new trials and its basic concepts flouted in many parts of the world, both wisdom and safety require that no candidate should henceforth be named for the nation's second position unless he be also worthy of the first."

In order to attract more able candidates, competent to head a government in their own right, it has been

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suggested at various times that the Vice President be made head of some new department of government, or that he be given power to appoint the committees of the Senate, or that he be placed in charge of administrative operations. Some have urged Congress to increase the Vice President's emoluments, establish an official residency, give him a staff of his own. But the simplest and most practical way to begin, it seems to us, is for the parties to seek consciously to nominate men who are qualified to succeed to the Presidency.

For the Republicans, this would mean dismissing the idea of selecting Representative Halleck or Senators Bridges or Goldwater. For the Democrats, it may mean passing over the apparent advantages of beefing up a Kennedy ticket by nominating any one of three Midwest Governors. The new, youngish chief executives of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa have all been mentioned as good running mates if Kennedy is nominated. Orville Freeman, Gaylord Nelson and Herschel Loveless all would provide sectional balance; each is a firm champion of agricultural interests, and each is a Protestant. Freeman and Nelson especially would bring earnest application to duty, liberal and intelligent convictions and administrative talent to the job.

But if we bear in mind Professor Schlesinger's concern, there is a more obvious candidate – Hubert Humphrey. He is clearly of Presidential stature, a man with remarkable understanding of foreign as well as domestic problems. Fortunately, he also fulfills the conventional requirement of regional balance with Kennedy at the top, better than any other possibility – adding an appeal to minority groups and to the farmers that the lesser-known young Governors cannot quite match. It would mean a two-Senator ticket, but why not?

The Demolition Experts

The circumstances under which a "victory" for pro-foreign aid forces was accomplished in the House on June 17 (the Senate has yet to act) leaves little room for confidence. Rep. Otto Passman of Louisiana, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee responsible for screening – that is to say, scuttling – the aid program, may have looked like the loser, but he did not come out half badly.

The Passman technique is to do so much damage at the committee stage that by the time the mutual security bill reaches the floor, any restoration seems a blessing. This time, Mr. Passman and his subcommittee (and the full Appropriations Committee under the chairmanship of Clarence Cannon) inflicted more damage than usual. In addition to cuts totaling $524 million in military assistance and defense support, and denying the President the flexible use of his contingency fund, $150 million was taken away from the already rock-bottom amount requested by the Administration for the Devel-

"In times of crisis, the newspapers are first with the cry: 'Let the people know the facts!' But perhaps Fact is a deity invoked by the people only in the last emergency when the easy gods of peace have failed them."

- Dorothy L. Sayers, 1941

"I join with you in the hope and belief that the inquiry which has been excited among the mass of mankind by our revolution and its consequences will ameliorate the condition of man over a great portion of the globe."

– *Thomas Jefferson*

* * *

"The ideals of the American Revolution are more explosive than B-52's or even atomic bombs. In all parts of the world where a man lives under tyranny or under foreign domination or in feudal bondage those who dream and plot and fight for freedom do so in the name of the eternal principles for which your revolution was fought." – *U Nu of Burma, at Independence Hall 1955*

* * *

"That battle which began 180 years ago [in Boston] is not yet completely won until we can survey our own world and say that colonialism is dead."

– *President Soekarno of Indonesia at opening of 1955 Bandung Conference*

* * *

Franco hailed the President and the US for their "preservation of liberty in Western Europe," and said the "two countries are aligned on the same front for defense of peace and liberty." – *December 21, 1959, on the occasion of Eisenhower's trip to Madrid*

* * *

In a letter to their Bishops, 342 Basque priests have protested against police brutality to Spanish political prisoners and the violation of civil rights in Spain.

– *New York Times dispatch of June 13, 1960*

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opment Loan Fund. And he succeeded in inserting a prohibition on any funds for assisting India and Pakistan to develop the Indus River Basin.

One cannot easily imagine a more destructive blow than the attack on the Indus program. It has taken eight years of the most exacting diplomacy for the World Bank's President, Eugene Black, to bring the two South Asian powers together on a program for assuring to both adequate supplies of the Indus waters. Exhaustive technical studies had reached the stage where, within weeks, the formal treaty governing an Indus settlement may be in sight.

Passman was later rebuffed when, on the House floor, the pro-aid forces hastily put together a pastiche of Republican regulars and Democratic liberals; the Indus ban was taken out by a voice vote, the prohibition of any expenditure for construction in tropical Africa was removed, and $200 million was restored in military aid funds. But no one thought of seeking to restore the $150 cut in the DLF appropriation or to unfreeze the use of the contingency funds.

To get the Democratic liberals' support on the key military aid vote, GOP leader Charles Halleck went along with Rep. Sidney Yates (D, Ill.) to strike out the Indus ban. The affair revealed the deep disaffection of Southern (and to some extent Western) Democrats from anything resembling a sustained foreign aid program. And if the future of aid hangs on the votes of Mr. Halleck and his friends, it is an uncertain future.

Subsidizing Private Schools

When the Supreme Court, shortly to adjourn for the summer, reconvenes next October, the Justices will find high on their docket that perennially perplexing issue – posed by the First Amendment's injunction against laws "respecting an establishment of religion" – the proper relationship of Church and State. The Court has already agreed to consider two questions upon which it has not heretofore passed: the propriety of compulsory prayer and bible-reading in the public schools; and the validity of so-called "Sunday laws," restraining commercial and other temporal activity on the day of worship celebrated by most Christian denominations. A decision this month by Connecticut's highest court, sustaining the expenditure of public funds for the transportation of children to parochial and other non-profit private schools, affords the Supreme Court the opportunity of reexamining its own holding, in the 1947 case of *Everson v. Board of Education*, that such expenditures are permissible.

The *Everson* case was decided by a five-to-four margin, and the powerful dissenting opinions of Justices Rutledge and Jackson have grown in force with the intervening years. Moreover, only three of the Justices who participated in the *Everson* decision are still on the Court. Under the circumstances, the Connecticut case seems to offer an appropriate occasion to the Court to display that readiness to reexamine prior constitutional holdings which is a vital concomitant of judicial review. A majority of the six Justices who have not yet dealt with the issue might well be persuaded that Justice Frankfurter – the lone *Everson* dissenter still on the Court – has in this realm been more responsive to the mandate of the First Amendment than Black and Douglas, the two remaining members of the *Everson* majority.

To stand with the *Everson* majority is to close one's eyes either to the religious character of a parochial school system or to the very real money value to parochial schools of this form of subvention. As to the religious character of Catholic parochial schools, there can be no question. Chief Justice Baldwin of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors acknowledged as much in his recent opinion: "The canons of the Roman Catholic Church provide, in substance, that Roman Catholic children shall be taught nothing contrary to the Catholic faith and good morals and that religious and moral training shall occupy the principal place in the school curriculum." If this is the case, the issue is not met by saying, as Justice Black said for the Court in *Everson*, "The State contributes no money to the schools. It does not support them." For, as Justice Jackson put it in dissent: "The State cannot maintain a Church and it can no more tax its citizens to furnish free carriage to those who attend a Church. The prohibition against establishment of a religion cannot be circumvented by a subsidy, bonus or reimbursement of expense to individuals for receiving religious instruction and indoctrination."

The nub of the constitutional problem raised by the bus cases and by the prayer-in-public-school cases was stated in memorable words in Justice Rutledge's *Everson* dissent: "Two great drives are constantly in motion to abridge, in the name of education, the complete division of religion and civil authority which our forefathers made. One is to introduce religious education and observances into the public schools. The other, to obtain public funds for the aid and support of various private religious schools. . . . In my opinion both avenues were closed by the Constitution. Neither should be opened by this Court. The matter is not one of quantity, to be measured by the amount of money expended."

It is to be hoped that at the coming term a majority of the present Court will conclude that the intervening years have vindicated Justice Rutledge's insight. It is even to be hoped that Justices Black and Douglas will join in overruling *Everson*. In matters of comparable constitutional moment – such as, for example, the validity of the compulsory flag-salute for public school children cases – the two Justices have on occasion candidly and courageously acknowledged the error of earlier judgments in which they had joined. This is in the highest traditions of our judiciary.

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IS AN ALGERIAN SETTLEMENT FINALLY IN SIGHT?

De Gaulle's New Overture

Tunis

Awaiting a reply from the Algerian insurrectionist government to General de Gaulle's new proposals, international observers here were concerned about questions which go beyond Franco-African relations. The front pages of all newspapers were given over almost entirely to coverage of the Japanese demonstrations against President Eisenhower and the US. Speculation is rife as to whether the West might not be about to lose still another choice spot in a strategic region. In short, the Algerian conflict has suddenly taken on planetary dimensions in the public mind.

Only a scant three months ago it was generally thought that the rebels of the *FLN* were near their end. The pacification or, to put it more accurately, the reduction of the military capabilities of the *FLN* had made undeniable progress. Above all, General de Gaulle had profited by his extremely versatile and vigilant diplomatic maneuvering. Mr. Khrushchev was of the same opinion as President Eisenhower with regard to de Gaulle's speeches promising self-determination; Mr. Bourguiba of Tunisia was reunited with the Negus of Ethiopia. At the time of the Paris Summit conference, however, the *FLN*, anticipating an agreement between East and West which would not have been achieved except at the *FLN's* expense, began to fear that its very effective program of action within the Afro-Asiatic world was going to be cut off. The *FLN* found itself in a position shrewdly foreseen by de Gaulle – namely, under dual pressure from within and from abroad to negotiate on French terms. It was about ready to negotiate, or at least to discuss, terms of a compromise when General de Gaulle made statements which seemed to indicate a backing away from previous offers and a desire to cut contacts with the *FLN*.

It was then that the famous visit of three Algerian ministers to Communist China was decided upon. The trip had been deferred several times; the attitude of the *FLN* government toward China was equivocal; indeed it harbored feelings of mistrust. But having no other choice, the ministers finally accepted Mao Tse-tung's invitation.

The Chinese spared no efforts to impress the Algerian revolutionaries; they were treated as equals, as though they had been the official and legal representatives of a great and powerful nation. When Mao Tse-tung received Krim Belkacem, Vice President of the Government of the *FLN*, he said to him: "The Europeans and the Americans despise you and they despise us. There are only 10 million of you and there are 600 million of us. But the bond which unites us is that we have both been humiliated, and this is a stronger bond than numbers." Mr. Krim Belkacem understood that although the Chinese offer might be motivated by self-interest, like all the others, it was rooted in strong feelings. Recalling that Mr. Eisenhower had recently reaffirmed Franco-American solidarity on Algeria, and in exchange for assurances they were given by the Chinese, the Algerian Ministers made no objection to signing a communique in which it was announced that the Algerians were backing up China's position on Quemoy, Matsu, Formosa, etc. The communique was a breath of oxygen to the *FLN*. The vague but exhilarating idea that several tens of thousands of insurgents were going to be helped by the most populous country in the world became a fixation. The myth was transformed into a mystique. Among the rebels, the folk-singers who declaim the epic of Algeria in piquant and improvised verse have made up a song which goes as follows: "The seed sown by the West in the wheat-fields of Algeria will be harvested by Chinese doves. . . ."

The Algerians returned from Peking fortified by the certainty that they were holding a trump card in world politics, one which sooner or later would redound to their profit. In Moscow, on their way home, the Algerians were given more discreet assurances than they had received from the Chinese, but just as formal ones. When they arrived in Tunisia, the *FLN* set to work to profit by this renewed strength. And, at precisely this moment de Gaulle made his June 14 statement on Algeria; everything was once again called into question.

His statement, more noble, more specific, and a thousand times more acceptable than all the previous ones, released new pressures on the Algerians almost everywhere. If General de Gaulle's name goes down in history, it will be owing in large part to the magic of his words. By his speech alone he may have changed the course of history at strategic moments. How long will the magic last this time? In any case, fear of China caused Morocco, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia – three countries which are allegedly the most active supporters of the *FLN* – to advise the Algerian leaders to go to Paris to meet with de Gaulle. They have now agreed to go. It remains to be seen whether the negotiations will, at long last, be successful.

Jean Daniel

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REVIEWING THE QUESTION OF WAR CRIMES

Eichmann and the Germans

Bonn

The arrest of Karl Adolf Eichmann by the Israeli secret service was bound to cause a sensation here. Of that atrocious race of Nazi bullies and murderers only comparatively minor members have come before German courts during recent years. "Iron" Gustav Sorge, for instance, was convicted last year of the murder of 67 inmates of concentration camps; his friend, "Pistol" Wilhelm Schubert, killed a "mere" 46. These were sadists who murdered with whips and hoses, with their jackboots and their bare hands. Eichmann belongs to a very different category of criminal; as head of the Jewish Office of the Gestapo he planned the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews from their homes in a dozen different countries and their systematic annihilation in the gas chambers. Without a doubt, he is the most terrible mass-murderer to face his judges since the "major" war criminals were sentenced at Nuremberg nearly 15 years ago.

Eichmann's arrest has produced some interesting reactions. The first has been an utter lack of sympathy for the man. This, it might be argued, should be natural. But plenty of Eichmann's friends of the SS are very much alive and kicking. His kidnaping in the Argentine, moreover, was illegal. And there is something nightmarish about his discovery, 15 years after his presumed death. Some human sympathy might have been expected. Instead, the West German press – and public opinion in general – has drawn two morals. The first is that crime does not pay, and the second is that the youth of Germany is given a chance to learn about the ultimate horrors of the Nazi era. Compare this with the head-in-the-sand attitude of a few years ago, when the cry was, "Our nerves have suffered too much already; let the past be dead!"

Germans would have nothing against Eichmann's being tried and sentenced by an Israeli court – but for the way in which he was taken to Israel. His trial in Germany would, indeed, be a grave embarrassment, for anti-Germans the world over would again be able to point an accusing finger. This, they would have said, is a typical German of the Nazi era. And the corollary is – how can one trust "the Germans" when there are very likely other Germans like Eichmann still at large?

This prospect may have prompted the Federal Foreign Office and Ministry of Justice to say that there will be no application for Eichmann's extradition from Israel to Western Germany. Yet there has been a sharp and salutary cleavage of opinion within the Federal Cabinet. Two important Ministers, at least, believe that an application should be made, for Eichmann is still a German citizen and a democratic state should not disown some citizens on the grounds that they are "bad citizens," while extending its protection to others. Are not all citizens equal in the eyes of the law, until they have been found guilty of crime?

This minority view in the Federal Cabinet takes additional note of the fact that the rule of law must be observed with special consistency in Germany – after the legal anarchy of the Nazi era. Traditions are only built up on precedents and practice. To wink at Eichmann's abduction and his trial by a country with which he has no legal connection might be convenient; but it would be a poor example for all those Germans who are being brought up in a new, more democratic way of life. Eichmann's crimes were committed when he was in Germany, or in German-occupied territory. Logically, Germany would be the place to try him; although he could equally be made answerable to a war-crimes tribunal in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland or the USSR.

The Eichmann affair has again brought to the fore an awareness that much remains to be done to clear up the whole question of war crimes. Eichmann's testimony will almost certainly implicate other former members of the Gestapo, who may have been living comfortable and successful lives since the war. The SS is still one of the most solid "clubs" in the world, with a record of firm mutual loyalty amongst its members. Thousands of foreign members of the Waffen SS are today "buried" in the Federal Republic, living under assumed names and with forged papers – through the help of former comrades. Only three weeks ago, ex-SS men assembled in a Bavarian town and sang the "Song to the Fuehrer" ("When all others have left you, we shall still be true"). Eichmann's evidence could pierce the veil which has been drawn so deftly over the past.

Already, the West German authorities are planning to hold at least six big trials of war criminals during the next year and a half. The biggest will involve charges against 900 officials and concentration camp guards who took part in the gigantic massacres at Auschwitz. Twenty-six have been arrested in this connection, and more than 300 witnesses have already been heard. The Eichmann affair will give an added impetus to West German inquiries which are honestly intended to bring all surviving war criminals to justice.

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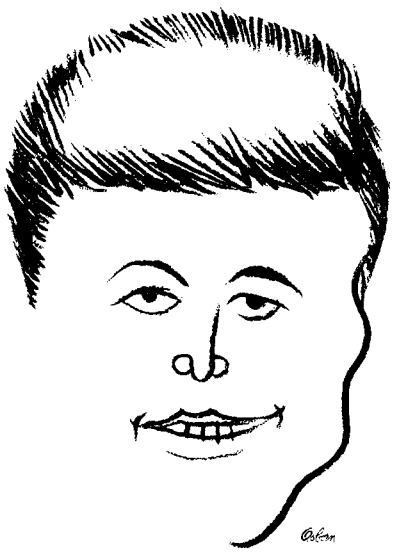
THE FUTURE IN SEARCH OF A CANDIDATE – III

An estimate of John F. Kennedy as President is suggested in this examination of his ideas and record on major issues. Mr. Harrison will next consider the changing setting of US foreign economic relations as perhaps the central problem likely to test Presidential leadership.



Kennedy as President

by Selig S. Harrison

"Things are really bad," says John F. Kennedy, "but it's not obvious enough to most people. The next President will be a highly partisan figure and for a Democrat, especially, it will be far more difficult to move in new directions in foreign policy than it would have been for Eisenhower. If I'm the one, it will be after a tough campaign against Nixon with talk about appeasers and all that. Once they get defeated, you know, the more extreme Republican elements will take over. And, of course, we'll have the opposition of the press."

What "new directions"?

"One of the first things I would do is bring Communist China into the nuclear test ban negotiations in the hope that this would lead to other things. If they were to participate actively and in a way that was responsive then I would go back to the newsmen issue. Then we would have to see about Formosa and the rest. We would have to continue to indicate that we're not going to permit them to dominate Southeast Asia, that while we're glad to discuss Formosa we're still going to meet our treaty commitments.

"I think I've made clear that I would have a much expanded aid program, putting a great deal more into India and Africa – wherever there's some promise.

"We have to negotiate and negotiate, on a test ban, on outer space, on Berlin. It's not possible without all the intelligence before you to make definitive judgments. There are many views, of course, on what motivated Khrushchev in Paris. Possibly he doesn't really want to have a showdown on Berlin and so, to hold off the East Germans, he's using the next-President line to excuse his failure to take early action. I'm rather inclined to suspect that's it."

The grim vista of stalemate in Europe which Kennedy sketched in his Senate address last week is the vista he, himself, quite apart from his speechwriters, sees ahead. When Berlin is mentioned, casual conversation with Kennedy ends and measured sobriety begins. "Khrushchev has to understand that we'll talk in the hope of improving the status of Berlin – on that basis we'll negotiate, not to lessen their security. Possibly we can get some guarantees on the permanency of allied entry and exit – but I don't know whether that can be done without its seeming to them, at least, that it's a step toward a permanent status for Berlin as a part of West Germany. It may be that the only way to protect the security of Berlin lies in more of the same, more of the present policy; which means holding out the threat of war if they block our movements."

The key is whether we can "make it cold" to the Russians that we mean business, that we would fight rather than surrender Berlin, and this means a prolonged and delicate balance between peace and war because, "sooner or later, the Russians are probably going to make the treaty with the East Germans." The imminence of the Democratic convention and of the election appears to have brought home to Kennedy, perhaps for the first time, precisely how delicate the balance between peace and war may be during the next Administration. But as he opens his mind to you, analyzing, reflecting aloud, synthesizing the views of contending advisers, Kennedy has the sound of one with the ability to calculate odds. He leaves the feeling that US policy in an Administration of his would never be rash or provocative, though it would not be "soft" either, and that decisions would reflect the best foreign policy expertise in Washington and the universities.

It is disarming to discover in one who looks so young the judicial cast of mind not apparent behind the more appropriate façade of, let us say, Stuart Symington.

"A statesman's first duty," wrote John Buchan, the novelist and late British Ambassador to Canada, in *Pilgrim's Way* (one of the books Kennedy often quotes) "is to see facts clearly and to make the proper deductions from them." By this test, Buchan rated Balfour the

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greatest public figure in pre-World War I Britain. "The most remarkable union of opposites was his devotion to what was old and his aliveness to what was new. . . . He saw the long descent of the most novel problems. Like Burke, he would not destroy what many generations had built merely because some of the plaster-work was shaky. At the same time he was wholly in tune with his age and aware of every *nuance* of the modern world."

It is not a bad description of what Kennedy might become.

"Jack," says his sister Eunice, "was always the one who looked things up." As Kennedy's biographer, James M. Burns, has told us, Kennedy *père* made as certain as he could that his boys would have a cosmopolitan exposure. He removed his family from Irish Catholic Boston to that citadel of the Protestant elite, Bronxville, New York, and sent his sons not to parochial schools but to Choate (Adlai Stevenson and Chester Bowles are alumni) and Harvard. At the suggestion of his father, Kennedy spent the summer following his graduation from Choate at the London School of Economics as a special student of Laborite Harold Laski, who had already taught Jack's older brother Joseph, Jr. ("Dad felt we should get to know all points of view.")

It was common talk among the Kennedys' friends that Joe, Jr. – who was later killed in World War II – was destined for big things, and Jack accordingly went through his teens and even his first collegiate years in his brother's shadow. He is remembered by professors and fellow-students at Harvard as keen but easygoing, distinctly not hale-fellow. He was bookish in a dilettante way: he soaked up ideas without taking them too seriously, treating his courses casually and steering clear of the campus political clubs.

In late 1937 Joseph P. Kennedy was appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. James. And by the fall of 1938, while Jack was majoring in international relations as a Harvard junior, Munich had come and gone. His father suggested that he take a look at the fast-breaking European drama first hand, which meant, in this case, enjoying the hospitality and confidential insights of Ambassadors and even Ambassadors-to-be, such as "Chip" Bohlen, who was then Second Secretary in Moscow. He was to see, among other things, whether he would like a Foreign Service career. On a semester's leave from Harvard, Kennedy spent six weeks in Paris, nearly a month in Warsaw, and did a grand tour of Germany, Latvia, the Balkans, the Soviet Union (Leningrad, Moscow, the Crimea), Turkey and Palestine.

It was on plunging into a hard-working senior year in the fall of 1939 (he had to double up on credits to recover the lost semester) that he undertook his first piece of disciplined intellectual work. To graduate with honors he was to do a thesis, and with his months in Europe fresh in mind, he chose to write on "Appeasement at Munich." The effort was notable for its detachment at a time when few – certainly at Harvard – felt detached, and for its systematic analysis of the forces within democracy and capitalism leading to Munich. By and large he sympathized with his father's isolationist thinking. That, however, was not central to his thesis; he did not go to the extreme of opposing aid to the allies. He was preoccupied with the problem of how a democracy can successfully compete with a totalitarian society (especially in an arms race) and still stay democratic.

The title of the thesis was, initially, "Appeasement at Munich Is the Inevitable Result of the Failure of England to Rearm, and the Effect of Public Opinion on This." The family's good friend Arthur Krock of *The New York Times*, who had encouraged Kennedy to rework the thesis for publication, came up with the title, *Why England Slept*, playing deliberately on Churchill's earlier *While England Slept*. It was Krock who found an agent and got the book published, at precisely the moment of the blitz in Britain. Selection by the Book-of-the-Month-Club was also arranged. Henry R. Luce did the foreword. To the surprise of all concerned, Kennedy, at 23, was the author of a book which sold 40,000 copies in the United States and won the praise of *The London Times Literary Supplement* ("a young man's book, it contains much wisdom for older men").

"You would be surprised how a book that really makes the grade with high-class people stands you in good stead for years to come," Ambassador Kennedy wrote his son.

Between college and his Navy enlistment in September, 1941, Kennedy spent a somewhat aimless year, flirting alternately with thoughts of journalism, college teaching, law and business. He decided after six months at Stanford Business School that it was not for him and went off to rove in Latin America. At the time he entered the Navy, it was generally assumed that after the war he would try his hand at writing.

The story of how he won his Purple Heart in the South Pacific has been told and retold in the slicks (and by John Hersey in *The New Yorker*) and, if he is nominated, will no doubt take its place in the national folklore. Most of the war stories dredged up by political candidates have that Made-on-Madison-Avenue quality, but the Kennedy story is the real thing.

An Intellectual Exercise

When he was discharged in January, 1945, his war record made it all the easier to line up a job (through friends of his father) as a special writer for the Hearst newspapers. Before going off on a series of reportorial assignments, however, Kennedy spent a week in February drafting a short thesis (it has never been published) in rebuttal to Harry Hopkins' plea for rearmament in the *American Magazine*. Ken-

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nedy recalls doing it "more as a kind of exercise for my own satisfaction than as a serious effort" because he was incensed at Hopkins' judgment that "we did everything possible to prevent war – except prepare for it." Kennedy's proposal (a British-US-Russian arms limitation agreement) was only moderately well argued, but the fact that he felt impelled to argue it at all has a certain interest. In his own reserved way, Kennedy shared some of the win-the-peace idealism more aggressively displayed by other returning veterans.

He was distressed that some people were saying " 'Let America be the strongest nation in the world and no one will attack her'. This is a plan for superarmament!"

"At the end of this war," he argued, "we will have only three countries – the USSR, Britain and the United States – in a position to wage total war. . . . There will, of course, have to be a strong growth of mutual trust between these countries before any comprehensive plan can be worked out. There are many people in this country, for example, who feel that Russia's unilateral settlement of the problems of eastern Europe precludes any workable postwar agreements being worked out with the Soviet. . . . These people have much evidence on which to base their suspicions, and there will have to be a radical change in the Soviet attitude before the people in this country would agree to work out arms limitations . . . with the Russians.

"Likewise, we will have to demonstrate to the Soviet our own willingness to try to work out European problems on equitable lines before the Russians will put any real confidence in our protestations of friendship. The Russian memory is long, and many of the leaders of the present government remember the years after the last war when they fought in the Red Armies against the invading troops of many nations, including Britain's and the United States'."

Having laid the foundations of friendship, "a workable, practicable machinery for settling mutual problems will have to be built on the Dumbarton Oaks framework. This, of course, must have full power to investigate and report on whether any power is directly or indirectly contravening the Arms Limitation Agreement."

He ended on a note of warning: If armaments cannot be controlled, "the prospect for peace is indeed dubious. Science will always overtake caution with new terrors against which defense cannot be anticipated. . . . Into the orthodox picture of classical warfare comes the 'V' bomb, which raises a spectre of destruction almost beyond the power of the human mind to grasp. . . . It is not an exaggeration to expect that these missiles will be developed to a point where theoretically any spot on the globe can send to any community in the world, with pinpoint accuracy, a silent but frightful message of death and destruction. . . . Detection of their source may be difficult. One does not have to be a Jules Verne to visualize the death of the human race, a victim of science and moral degeneracy."

He saw hope in the United Nations, however, and the San Francisco founding conference of the UN was his first assignment for the Hearst chain. Billed as a "PT boat hero" presenting "the GI viewpoint," Kennedy reported every detail of Molotov's "belligerent" performance. But he spelled out at some length his own speculations on why the Russians were behaving that way. "Most important," he wrote on April 30, 1945, "there is a heritage of 25 years of distrust between Russia and the rest of the world that cannot be overcome completely for a good many more years. . ." The stormy sessions of the first week led him to the gloomy conclusion that "we have a long way to go before Russia will entrust her safety to any organization other than the Red Army. The Russians may have forgiven, but they haven't forgotten, and they remember very clearly those years before the war when Russia was only looking in the kitchen window."

Covering the British elections for Hearst in June, he warned that Churchill "is fighting a tide that is surging through Europe, washing away monarchies and conservative governments everywhere." After the Labour upset he pointed to time-for-a-change sentiment and "above all, the fact that living conditions in England have always been difficult for the working man."

But he did not stick it out for long as a reporter. The death of Joe, Jr., had raised the question of a political career for a family standard-bearer. Jack gradually got used to the idea of running for the House seat (Boston's Eleventh District) which had been vacated when James Michael Curley decided to run for Mayor. But he had his doubts, not only the doubts of one who was unable to imagine himself glad-handing the working stiffs of East Boston but the deeper doubts, as well, of one who had never really grappled with most public issues.

It would be difficult to forget the irritation which Kennedy displayed when this reporter, then at Harvard on *The Crimson*, peppered him with questions in an interview during his 1946 campaign. Kennedy at 29 gave the same impression he does today of an earnest and engaging personality. But he was clearly determined to avoid specific commitments. (At a Harvard Liberal Union meeting held during the course of the campaign, a Radcliffe miss stood up to ask the speaker, former Congressman Thomas H. Eliot, whether he thought Kennedy would make "the kind of progressive representative we're working for." Eliot replied: "I spoke with Jack for about three hours the other afternoon on many of the issues facing this country – and I don't really think I'm qualified to answer your question.") Candidate Kennedy spoke in vague terms of "the struggle between capitalism and collectivism, internally and externally," adding, however, that he was not for *laissez-faire* – business did need regulation by

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the government "to eliminate the trends of overproduction and low purchasing power which periodically throw the economic structure out of kilter." If it was necessary to tag him, he asked, "make it 'Massachusetts Democrat'. I'm not doctrinaire. I'll vote them the way I see them." My conclusion in *The Crimson* was that "Kennedy seems to feel honestly that he is not hedging . . . by refusing to offer a positive specific platform. He feigns an ignorance of much in the affairs of government and tells you to look at his record in two years to see what he stands for."

"A Sick Roosevelt"

Two years later Kennedy had taken some stands, though it would have been hard from them to classify him as a "liberal" or a "conservative" among House Democrats. His six years as a Congressman were indeed those of a "Massachusetts Democrat" carefully doing what a working-class district wanted him to do. On labor, social security, price and rent control, he voted an essentially Fair Deal line. On public housing, he stood up to the real-estate lobby in his first term, backing the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill and piloting an endorsement of it through the Veterans of Foreign Wars national convention. When the American Legion fought the TEW bill in 1948, he burst forth, to the dismay of his aides, with his celebrated charge that "the leadership of the American Legion has not had a constructive thought for the benefit of the country since 1918!" But in foreign affairs, he was also saying what his district wanted to hear. And this frequently placed him at odds not only with the House liberal bloc but with the whole Democratic Administration.

Thus, on January 25, 1949, he blamed the White House and the State Department for the fall of China to the Communists."The continued insistence that aid would not be forthcoming unless a coalition government with the Communists was formed was a crippling blow to the Nationalist Government. So concerned were our diplomats and their advisers, the Lattimores and the Fairbanks', with the imperfections of the democratic system in China after 20 years of war and the tales of corruption in high places that they lost sight of our stake in a non-Communist China."

"At the Yalta Conference in 1945," he said in a Salem, Massachusetts, speech on January 30, "a sick Roosevelt, with the advice of General Marshall . . . gave the Kurile Islands as well as the control of various strategic Chinese ports . . . to the Soviet Union."

In the 1952 campaign which unseated Henry Cabot Lodge, Kennedy's managers, seeking to outflank Lodge on the Right as well as the Left, were in a position to appeal for conservative Republican votes with the argument that Kennedy more closely paralleled Taft on foreign policy than did Lodge himself. "Kennedy has been an outspoken critic of many elements of the Administration's Foreign Policy," began a study prepared by Timothy J. "Ted" Reardon, Kennedy's administrative assistant. "In this respect, he has been much closer to the position of Taft than has Lodge. Indeed, the latter has been riding at the head of the so-called bipartisan foreign policy parade since 1947. . . ."

In a 40-page study of Lodge's shifting foreign policy stands, Reardon bore down heavily on the soft-on-Communism theme. Lodge was charged with "straddling on the big issue of the guilt or innocence of Owen Lattimore, John Service and Philip Jessup. . . . Of Jessup, he said that he was willing to accept General Eisenhower's word that he (Jessup) was 'a splendid American'." "The outstanding question, of course, in his case as well as the Administration's," the study ended, "is why there has not been more of an awareness for a strong anti-Communist policy in the Far East."

Perhaps the decisive event during Kennedy's House years, which set him on course for his post-1952 role as a Senator with a new and broader constituency, was a seven-week trip to Asia and the Middle East in the fall of 1951. His sister Pat and his brother Bob went along, but Kennedy, who was not in a holiday mood, took his role as the inquiring Congressman with high seriousness. The stopover in Indo-China was to have a particular importance, for it reveals, in retrospect, the way he was then groping for an understanding of the post-war world. Seymour Topping, *The New York Times'* Moscow correspondent and then an AP reporter in Saigon, recalls Kennedy alighting at the Saigon airport, consulting some notes in his wallet, and seeking him out then and there. The appointment which Kennedy made with Topping meant upsetting some social plans arranged by Ambassador Donald R. Heath, but Kennedy was unconcerned and turned up for hours of searching inquisition at the reporter's flat. "He really wanted to *know*," Topping recalls.

Unlike most junketing Americans at the time (Thomas E. Dewey, for example), Kennedy was not bowled over by de Lattre de Tassigny; the imperious, 64-year-old French General had grown accustomed to charming visitors into an uncritical acceptance of the French line, and when Kennedy (30 years his junior) admitted to doubts, he complained of the impertinence to friends in Washington (his letters began, "I am far from overestimating Mr. Kennedy, but . . ."). Kennedy covered a lot of ground in his 10 days in Indo-China and talked to a variety of people. However, he emphasizes the impact of his encounter in Saigon with diplomat Edmund A. Gullion. Then Heath's deputy (counselor of legation) in Vietnam, Gullion is a Foreign Service career man who felt so strongly about the disastrous implications of pro-French US policy in Indo-China (and Heath's cover-up cables to Secretary Acheson) that he held nothing back when Kennedy asked for his views. This did not endear

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him to powerful old-liners in the Department and when, during the period of Gullion's subsequent (1952-54) tenure on the Policy Planning Staff, Kennedy spoke out on Indo-China, there were those who assumed that he was the evil genius (actually, the speech was Kennedy's own work, though Gullion saw a draft).

"Ed Gullion would be one of the first people I would turn to next year," says Kennedy. "He is one of our best men."

In a radio report soon after his trip Kennedy declared that, "our intervention in behalf of England's oil investments in Iran, directed more at the preservation of interests outside Iran than at Iran's own development, our avowed willingness to assume an almost imperial responsibility for the safety of Suez . . . these are things that have failed to sit well with Arab desires and make empty the promises of the Voice of America." Communism was not to be stopped, he said, "by merely the force of arms. . . . A Middle East Command operating without the support and cooperation of the Middle East countries, including Israel, not only would intensify every anti-Western force now active in that area but from a military standpoint would be doomed."

Reporting on New Delhi (including an hour's talk with Nehru), he concluded that India "will deal and has dealt with Communism in her own way but not in ours. . . . Under Nehru who, as the heir of Gandhi, is one of the spiritual leaders of the East, she can be neither bribed nor cajoled to join either our or the Russian camp. Bordering as she does most closely to China and Burma, still inherently economically weak, still at odds with Pakistan on the burning issue of Kashmir, she wishes for the time to be let alone. . . ."

He seemed to be relinquishing the China Lobby line. ("The failure of our earlier China policy and the loss of the friendship the millions of Chinese once held for us are tragedies beyond all measure. Whether we shall ever recoup these losses, no one can say.") Most of his report centered on Indo-China, "where we have allied ourselves to the desperate effort of a French regime to hang onto the remnants of empire."

Once in the Senate, Indo-China became "his" issue. Few others had been there and could speak with any authority. Nevertheless, he found himself in opposition to the State Department. Accordingly, he was squelched at every opportunity by Democratic elder Walter George, then Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. On July 1, 1953, he offered an amendment to the mutual security bill providing that aid funds for Indo-China "shall be administered in such a way as to encourage through all available means the freedom and independence desired by the people of the Associated States, including the intensification of the military training of the Vietnamese."

"All that Walter George and the others could say," recalls Kennedy's principal aide, Theodore C. Sorenson, who had joined him in early 1953, "was 'France is our ally'. . . . I thought it was pretty good that he knew he wanted to do this and went ahead and did it, as a freshman Senator." With George against him, Kennedy lost, 67-13, but he kept after the Administration in speeches in and out of the Senate up to the time of the Indo-China settlement at Geneva.

Admiral Arthur Radford was advocating US intervention in Indo-China in the spring of 1954; Secretary Dulles talked of "united action" with allies who had no intention of uniting in a hopeless cause. "The 'united action' which is said to be desperately needed for victory in that area," said Kennedy on April 6, "is likely to end up as unilateral action by our own country. Such intervention, without participation by the armed forces of the other nations of Asia, without the support of the great masses of the peoples of the Associated States . . . would be virtually impossible in the type of military situation which prevails in Indo-China. I am frankly of the opinion that no amount of American military assistance can conquer an enemy which is everywhere and at the same time nowhere, 'an enemy of the people' which has the sympathy and covert support of the people."

The price which the US had been paying to retain the goodwill of its European allies, he said on July 8, was "a heavy price in connection with our relationship with the peoples of the Middle East and Asia. . . . If we continue to pay this price we are going to be faced with other Indo-Chinas all over the world where colonialism is maintained. The two places in the Western Hemisphere where Communism developed were British Guiana and Guatemala. Guatemala has been the victim of economic imperialism for many years in the past." (In contrast, on June 25, Lyndon Johnson had thus analyzed the Guatemalan upheaval: "International Communism builds up groups within states which are designated for conquest. . . . When they reach a certain point of strength, they are then armed and are turned loose for military conquest. We have reached that point in the Western Hemisphere.")

Kennedy was amused when reminded of his transgression in suggesting that the US could be guilty of imperialism. "Particularly," in his words, "with all those Boston banana kings."

From 1954 and up to 1957 when he delivered his much-discussed speech on Algeria, Kennedy made no great splash on issues of foreign policy. As a result of his 1951 trip, however, he gave throughout this period consistent support to economic aid to the underdeveloped areas. In early 1951 he had offered an amendment cutting economic and technical aid to Africa and the Near East from $175 million to $140 million. The following year, he frankly recanted and fought against aid cuts. It was in late 1955 that Kennedy first began to interest himself seriously in US disarmament policy; he

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was concerned, according to State Department officers in a position to know, lest the September 6, 1955, declaration by US spokesman Harold Stassen at the UN, putting on ice all previous American stands on disarmament pending technical review, might be the beginning of a policy stalemate giving the initiative to the Russians. Since 1955, he has kept to a pro-disarmament, pro-test ban line.

One should note, too, that on January 28, 1955, when Herbert Lehman sought to amend the Formosa Resolution to exclude Quemoy and Matsu (he was defeated, 74-13), Kennedy was paired on Lehman's side. He was still hospitalized at the time following his back operation, "but I was following that in *The Times* and Lehman seemed to make sense. . . ."

Center-Stage

Kennedy saw the Algeria speech on July 2, 1957, as a natural outgrowth of his earlier concern with French colonialism in Indo-China. His brother Ted had gone on a North African tour in 1956 with Frederick L. Holborn, a Harvard government instructor then in Europe on a Sheldon Fellowship, and he was receptive when they urged that he issue a strong pro-Algerian appeal. Holborn, who had lectured in Harvard's course on US foreign policy under McGeorge Bundy, was invited to Washington to prepare memos on Algeria and ended up as a full-time Kennedy staff member.

Today, the Senator confesses to one regret about his call for Algerian independence, a call that evoked rebukes from Secretary Dulles, Dean Acheson, Adlai Stevenson and the French press as well as wide praise in the US and in select French circles. "We might have spoken about permitting the Algerians to determine their relationship with France. The use of the word 'independence' may have been unwise. I have never seen an issue which has as much emotion in it as Algeria in France." He is sensitive, however, to the suggestion that he was insincere or could have done more (Alistair Cooke wrote in *The Manchester Guardian* on July 11, 1957, that "Senator Kennedy is too shrewd to make a hobby out of Algeria. It has brilliantly served its purpose of pitching him into center-stage. . . . Precisely because it is a country that knows neither friend nor enemy in Massachusetts it is no liability to his own constituents. But it has nicely suggested to his newspaper supporters that the Senator is a statesman, something like Stevenson, of majestic disinterestedness.")

"I don't see what we could have done but speak, and we did speak – many times." As for the future, "we have to be careful so that US intervention is not harmful. But they will finally get their right to self-determination." Secretary Dulles, he adds, told him privately that "he was able to use the Algerian speech as a means of putting the heat on the French at the time of the debate in the United Nations."

Algeria was, no doubt, a convenient country to talk about for statesmanlike effect; the same can hardly be said, however, of Tito's Yugoslavia, which Kennedy visited on a six-week European tour in early '51, and which was a *bête noire* among Roman Catholics for its persecution of Archbishop Stepinac. Kennedy had spoken and voted against the Knowland amendment banning military aid to Yugoslavia on July 24, 1956. He went on to broaden his interest in the satellites with a major aid-to-Poland address on August 21, 1957, followed by an effort in June of 1958 to amend the Battle Act, which prohibited US aid to Soviet bloc countries. Catholic opinion was, if anything, sympathetic to his pro-Gomulka stand. The Polish-American Congress (strong among Massachusetts' 146,822 residents of Polish or part-Polish parentage) was actively lobbying for US assistance to the new regime. Amendment of the Battle Act, however, meant across-the-board removal of restrictions on aid to satellites. The prospect outraged such Catholic diocesan organs as *The Brooklyn Tablet*, which on July 5, 1958, denounced Kennedy for his stand.

Kennedy's post-1956 foreign policy ventures were unmistakably inspired, to a great extent, by dreams of 1960, and designed to "pitch him into center stage." But in each case what he did had roots in what he had said and done earlier. He was fortunate in that his own intellectual flirtations had been leading him in the Stevenson-Bowles direction, a direction that politically speaking would prove helpful. He had spent nearly a month in the memorable Warsaw of 1939 (and had gone back again in 1955). His 1951 trip "gave me a permanent interest in India" which made it natural for him to focus in 1958 on New Delhi as the all-important test of our aid program. (In a May 11, 1954, speech he had complained that "the attitude of India, the key to Asia because of her size, location and Nehru's prestige, has been increasingly alienated through our political maneuvers in the UN concerning her participation in the Korean peace conference and Mrs. Pandit's election, through our removal of Chester Bowles from his uniquely effective ambassadorship, and finally by our decision to arm her neighbor across a tense and suspicious border – Pakistan".)

His interest in India, moreover, was heightened by what he heard at a small Washington dinner party given in October, 1957, by Mrs. Florence Mahoney in honor of Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson). She and Kennedy had known each other since 1945; she was a friend of Kennedy's sister Kathleen (the late Marchioness of Hartington) and had taken him around to Labor rallies when he covered the '45 British elections. Her appeal for increased US aid to India had the same effect on Kennedy it has had on many others, and he began reporting to audiences that "when I asked Bar-

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bara Ward where the US should concentrate in Asia, she said 'India first, India second, India last'." Max F. Millikan, director of the MIT Center for International Studies and co-author, with Walt W. Rostow, of books and articles on US aid policy, recalls that Fred Holborn first got in touch with him in January, 1958. "They were looking for ways to dramatize the foreign aid issue. They said, 'we want to find the right pegs on which to hang a real effort to do something legislatively.' The Senator wanted Fred to come up and find out just precisely what the India problem was."

Kennedy was something a little new to Millikan, Rostow, and others at the MIT Center: they were used to hit-and-run Senators who seek expertise as a kind of gratis speech-writing service. Kennedy made some perceptive and strong speeches on India, but he went further with a Rostow proposal. Persisting after an initial failure in 1958, Kennedy and Republican John Sherman Cooper reintroduced in 1959 their resolution calling for a multi-national Western aid study mission to South Asia. Its unanimous passage led directly to the recent report by bankers Sir Oliver Franks, Herman Abs and Allan Sproul, recommending increased Western aid for the next Indian and Pakistani Five Year Plans. What impressed him most about the Kennedy performance, says Rostow, was his determination in surmounting roadblocks confronting the resolution within the Executive Branch (Treasury Secretary Anderson in particular, one may surmise) at a time of mounting campaign distractions.

Kennedy says he was moved to act because Rostow "talked about the Indian situation in terms which showed what the United States could usefully do," which illustrates his pragmatic turn of mind. Reflecting on the Indo-China settlement of 1954, he says, "I don't know why they [the Communists] ever agreed to that. They were on their way there." Stuart Symington and Lyndon Johnson saw "appeasement," but Kennedy saw the West salvaging all that could be salvaged in the partition of Vietnam. Such comments suggest he would bring to the Presidency a sense of what Charles Burton Marshall has called "the limits of foreign policy." This is of some importance at a time when a President indifferent to or ignorant of the limits of action could trigger an unwanted general war.

The Size of a President

Still, it is not all there is to consider. To James M. Burns, Kennedy would bring "bravery and wisdom" to the White House – "whether he would bring passion and power would depend on his making a commitment not only of mind, but of heart, that until now he has never been required to make." One can agree that a cool intelligence in the White House might not inspire millions to great tasks. But the doubt goes deeper. Can one be sure that Kennedy would brave the storms of Congressional or public rebuke when his mind tells him tough decisions must be made?

If one were assessing a Senatorial candidate with a heavily Irish Catholic constituency, his record of discreet silence concerning Joseph McCarthy might be discounted, especially when one remembers that only a handful of Senators, irrespective of constituencies, threw discretion to the winds. This is not so, however, when one is measuring the size of a potential President. The Kennedy record on McCarthy leaves it an open question whether or not, when storms break, he will stand by what his intelligence and best instincts dictate.

(Against this, one may weigh his demonstrated toughness and capacity of decision when his own interests have been in the balance, as in fighting through a labor reform bill or risking the religious issue against the warnings of most of his advisers by entering the West Virginia primary.)

The question of political stamina was not conclusively answered in the aftermath of the U-2 incident. Clearly, Kennedy thought the right thoughts: he went to the heart of the matter when, in his extemporaneous comments in Oregon, he said that if Khrushchev "had merely asked that the United States express regret, then that would have been reasonable," but that to ask the trial of those responsible for the flight "quite obviously . . . means that he wanted to break it up." Later, though, defending himself on the Senate floor against the charge of appeasement for his incidental use of the word "apologize," he appeared perhaps overly sensitive and concerned about the damage he may have suffered by his candor.

There are other doubts, arising from the fact that a command post of his political operations over the years has been Joe Kennedy's office in the Kennedy owned building at 230 Park Avenue. One can only imagine how many open-dated blank checks have been given to strategically-placed individuals and interests to help Kennedy get where he is. How many of these checks, if any, would call for repayment by Kennedy as President, no one can foretell. One can only say that they are peripheral to the central question, namely, the nature of the leadership Kennedy might give on the great issues.

One of the Kennedy advisers who has most capably defined many of these issues (in *The United States in the World Arena*), Walt Rostow, and who has observed Kennedy often at close range, believes that "he has the character and the will to do the job. Of course, he has the clarity of perception, but the real point is that he knows it's going to be rough. He knows what it will be like. And he really believes that the duty of a President is to leave office, if necessary, as he said in one of his speeches, with the mob howling at his heels – but with the job done."

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A Dangerous Jeffersonian

The staid and decorous city of Baltimore is not in a class with Tokyo in the matter of uproarious academicians, but at that it did pretty well last week when the learned Dr. H. Bentley Glass, of the Johns Hopkins University, took to the warpath. Oh, he didn't go rioting in the streets, nor did they have to subdue him with a fire hose, but he startled the natives all right with an unexpurgated opinion of that triumph of Maryland statecraft, the Ober law.

The Ober law is among the first and among the most vicious of that flood of hysterical enactments precipitated by the epidemic of McCarthyism of ten years ago. It was a paternal effort on the part of the Maryland legislature to protect the United States Government which, in the opinion of the legislature, obviously lacked the wisdom and energy to take care of itself. Eventually, as regards federal employes, an ungrateful Supreme Court slapped down such efforts on the theory that protection of the Union is the business of Congress, not of the solons at Annapolis; but it remains in force as far as the state's hired hands are concerned.

Dr. Glass is a biologist who for many years has specialized in the study of the effects of radiation on the human organism. In that capacity he has been for a long time an adviser to the Atomic Energy Commission and a member of the National Academy of Sciences committee on the genetic effects of atomic radiation. Few if any Americans know more than Glass about the effects of radiation, so when the state decided recently to set up a Radiation Control Advisory Board Governor Tawes as a matter of course appointed Dr. Glass as a member, and Dr. Glass intended to accept. But it appears that membership on the board is an office within the meaning of the statute, so to qualify each member must take an oath that he is not a spiritual heir of Judas Iscariot, Benedict Arnold and Vidkung Quisling, and when given that information the Johns Hopkins scholar hit the ceiling. If he had to take any such insulting and ridiculous oath, said Dr. Glass in effect, the Governor could get himself another boy.

The wrath of Dr. Glass merely as a gentleman and a scholar is understandable, but it does suggest that he has spent so much time in the laboratory that he is out of touch with what has been going on in this country. By the standards now prevailing in American public life he, far from being above suspicion, is triply suspect.

For he is by training a scientist, by political affiliation a Democrat, and by religious persuasion a Baptist. Well, a scientist is supposed to know something, and in these days anybody who knows anything is presumed to be highly susceptible to Communist wiles. Then we have the word of the Heir Apparent for it that the Democrats perpetrated twenty years of treason; and wasn't it the Democrat, Wilson, who lost Russia to the Communists in 1916? Finally, the Baptists – or at least the Southern Baptists, much the larger group – are so violently opposed to having their consciences bound that they will not affiliate even with the Federal Council of Churches, let alone the Eisenhower Administration.

Under the law as it stands in Maryland a man who is learned is suspected; a man who is learned and liberal is indicted; and a man who is learned, liberal, and independent is for all practical purposes convicted of being a Communist agent. In theory he might be acquitted if he could get a panel of Ku Kluxers to testify that he is one of their own; but the Kluxers are certainly not going to testify for such a man.

To cap it all Dr. Glass convicted himself of being miles beyond Communism. He said that if any administration, duly elected, after gaining power should proceed to destroy civil liberty and substitute intolerance and suppression as its policy, "I shall regard it as my highest patriotic duty to be subversive of the recognized constitutional government . . . and to undertake to overthrow it by whatever means are necessary in order to restore our civil liberties."

But this makes the ordinary Communist look like an original Nixon man. This is nothing short of "hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man," hostility to Khrushchev as violent as hostility to Hitler. This man isn't a Communist, he is a Jeffersonian, the one political type that is more terrible than the Gorgon's head to Communist and Fascist alike.

Oh, well, Governor Tawes undoubtedly will find somebody else to go on the Radiation Control Advisory Board even under the Ober law, for, as Dr. Glass observed, "the loyal need no oath; the disloyal will swear anyway." They may not know anything about radiation; they may not know anything about self-respect; they may not know anything about loyalty – but how they can swear! And if oaths are more important than honesty, what more should you ask?

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Look Forward in Anger

by Patrick O'Donovan

Mr. Wechsler's cry of distress is a familiar one. No one, he insists, cares any more. The fires are all out and there is left only an obscuring, vaguely comforting pall of smoke over everything. The political immoderations of his youth now seem, regardless of their form or purpose, to have been infinitely worth while for their own sake. They live on like old men's memories of clashes with the sword and bayonet when the war itself has been forgotten. No one today will embrace a cause as he and his did in their time. Politics are left to "the men of moderation in whose hands great issues have become great bores."

Reflections of an Angry Middle-Aged Editor
by James A. Wechsler
(Random House; $3.95)

He finds this abominable because the causes are still with us, as real as the old ones ever were. There is still poverty and injustice, on a scale that few allow themselves to suspect, and in America. There is a hungry and impatient world beyond these charmed shores. There is a China policy that offers nothing but a choice between humiliating capitulation and unthinkable war. And, enough to satisfy a whole generation of the *engagé*, there is The Bomb.

For his introductory theme, Mr. Wechsler takes the case of the "beats." These curiously untalented people, with their sexual exhibitionism and literary silliness have, he says, a valid point to make for America:

> The ranks of the beat are limited and scattered. It is hardly likely that what they are up to would evoke so much notice if most of their contemporaries were engaged in great exercises; what gives them most of their prominence . . . is that they, almost alone, seem to care very deeply, even if it is only about the cult of not caring. . . . Their commitment to disaffection is intense. Perhaps they interest us, too, because politics seems to have become less and less relevant to many of the young people growing up in the land, and among the beat the estrangement is most fully burlesqued.

It is a nice, well-stretched point. But then this is neither a moderate nor a scholarly book, but the work of a passionate and very active liberal, of a brilliant man who has been nurtured in journalism and the excellent simplicities of the feature article. If you too, as is possible, consider yourself a liberal, you will find every issue and person you care about within these pages. There is unemployment, the decay of the Unions, the corruption of the Press, Mr. Nixon (ugh!), the Negro and, of course, still alive, the late Senator McCarthy. Senator Kennedy is dismissed for his oedipoid charms (every woman's son and lover), and Senator Symington for the fact that he succeeds by giving the impression of caring about nothing very strongly. And through it all goes Mr. Wechsler, twirling an unfairly weighted stick, prodding friends and bashing enemies, cracking an idol or two, as predictable in his views as an Austro-Hungarian Emperor.

This is not merely an angry book; it is a furious lamentation over contemporary America. Like all such plaints, it seems at times to regret a past that never quite was, some wonderful, radical, North American equivalent of Merrie England, in which men spoke out for the truth as they saw it and politics were about things that really mattered.

Wechsler's most serious argument is for a reformation (though not a revolution) in the American party system that would permit the serious inter-party discussion of issues and make sense of the American political divisions:

> I do visualize a political upheaval in which men of broadly parallel ideas would find themselves in the same structure, capable of communicating with each other and feeling something more than a Senatorial courtesy about each other's ideas. Within the broadly defined categories of "liberal" and "conservative" men would, I think, find their identities. It might even be said that each party would still represent a coalition, but each coalition would be united by certain recognizable common denominators of belief.

He believes that, in the end, a clear liberal call would be answered and he goes into the past and the nature of the ADA in some detail, because it has the power to make such a call. He would let the South slip from the Democratic Party and recruit replacements from the liberal Republicans. There is nothing novel in such dreamings.

He is aware of the lurking sin of hankering after a European system of political division and he carefully disclaims it. He is mighty hard on the great compromisers and adjusters, on Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn, far harder than he is on the President. But there is no suggestion on how to break through the old, encrusted shell of American politics into a freer – though not a European – world of genuine controversy where the great issues can be properly aired. He seems at times to suggest the old American panacea: Call upon the

Notes on Contributors

Patrick O'Donovan *is a British journalist now travelling in Chile.* Dilys Laing's *poem "Hegira" is one of the last completed before her death last February. Her book* Poems from a Cage *will be published in September by Macmillan.*

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People; but the people, he has demonstrated, do not care. And so it will not be easy.

The desire to break the stalemate, to get American politics moving again, informs the whole book. And among the enemies of promises whose face he pushes in, is, somewhat surprisingly, the American press. He finds them guilty of the gravest derelictions of duty. He mentions, inevitably, their unheroic behavior over McCarthy. He documents more recent failures. But it is too close and too bloodshot a view. It is the splendor of the American press that they struggle, at least in their news columns, to achieve an objectivity that no other English-writing press knows. His stick swings too wildly. In the end he is reprimanding *The New York Times* (for which he nurses an understandable love-hate) and *The Christian Science Monitor* (with which he has nothing in common) for not dealing with sex and violence as does his own *New York Post*.

But down they all must go, press, politicians, parties, industrialists, suburbanites, students – until there is nothing left standing except Hubert Humphrey, Adlai Stevenson, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and "The Negro."

In "men of moderation," all this will cause a brief dismissive smile. To the converted, it will bring comfort and excitement and the feeling of luxury that comes from belonging to a minority that has The Word. To those seeking a way of *effecting* a change, it will offer little except – as an unintentional by-product – the feeling that the future on the whole is hopeless and that they had better grow a beard, dispose of their present wardrobe, drop their wife and acquire a boy friend and emigrate to California.

Summer Schedule

During the summer months, *The New Republic* will not appear on the following dates:
July 4 August 1 August 22 September 5

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue of September 12.

Who Knocks on the Organization Door

by Susan M. Black

It says in *The Organization Man* that the mass testing of "personality" is good for nothing and after attacking the testers in no uncertain terms, the author, William H. White, Jr., advises people to evade their insolence by cheating – and provides an appendix on how to do it. Before answering a question one should repeat to oneself:

a) I loved my father and my mother, but my father a little bit more.

b) I like things pretty well the way they are.

c) I never worry much about anything.

d) I don't care for books or music much.

e) I love my wife and children.

f) I don't let them get in the way of company work.

Ira Wallach's latest (and best) book is about a non-Organization type who seeks to cheat, by applying the above and correlated rules to a live test of his personality by an Organization.

The Absence of a Cello
by Ira Wallach
(Little, Brown; $3.75)

Bankruptcy has forced Andrew Pilgrim, an impractical and brilliant thermo-nuclear physicist, to offer himself to an Organization called Baldwin-Nelson for $30,000 a year. The Organization sends an interviewer to catalog the whole man.

I give you the following scene which both sets the stage for the interview and illustrates the qualities of Mr. Wallach's prose. Andrew is facing a Baldwin-Nelson underling, a three-buttoned link in the chain of command.

Said Underling, "Naturally we are aware of your qualifications, and it would be presumptuous of me to question them."

"Yes," Andrew agreed. The slight nursing of Underling's lips surprised him. Had "Yes" been the wrong answer?

"The field has narrowed down," continued Underling. (Evidently some thoroughbreds had been scratched.) "Our Mr. Clifton, he's the head of personnel – would like to visit you."

"Visit me?"

"Yes. In your home. He likes to see applicants in their homes. Mr. Clifton believes that a man's home is what he is."

"What happens if he moves?" asked Andrew. He was immediately aware that this was the second incorrect response and he resolved to constrain himself.

"Do you object to a visit next Sunday afternoon?" asked Underling, ducking under Andrew's question.

"Not at all," said Andrew.

Sunday, he recalled . . . was the day his sister Marian was to arrive from Chicago. He would probably have to hide her in the closet.

Marian is not banished but a fat book called *The Corporate Conspiracy* is, and many other quick changes are made in the Pilgrims' New York City apartment. Books written by Andrew's wife, Celia, BA, MA, PhD (and other nasty sobriquets) a specialist in the Arthurian legend and Tristan and Iseult, are covered with the dust jackets of innocent novels. (They indicate an absorbing interest in a not very social or extroverted activity.) Racing forms are replaced by copies of *The Ladies Home Journal*, *McCall's* and *The Saturday Evening Post*, rescued from the incinerator. As these proper magazines are distributed by the Pilgrims' next door neighbors, the Littlewoods (Grant, Emma and Elliott), while proper thoughts are distributed by Perry Blewitt, the fiancé of the Pilgrim's 19-year-old daughter, and at 21 a custom made-for-the-Organization man. And as a last minute touch Andrew Pilgrim's beloved cello which he plays in an amateur string-quartet (a "symbol of emotional irresponsibility" according to Perry) is exiled to the bedroom. Pilgrims three, Littlefields three, Perry and the young widowed sister Marian are now prepared to face the intruder.

They win the first round on Sunday. Clifton, speaking as a worshipful representative of Baldwin-Nelson makes

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no crack in their hastily constructed façade of devout Togetherness, Acceptance of the status quo and Community and Church-orientation. But during the first intermission (at dinner on Sunday evening with Marian, in whom he has become interacted) Clifton reveals that Andrew is "down in my mind as unfinished business. If he's what he appears to be, the job is his, but if there's a different Andrew Pilgrim I'll flush him out." Marian assures him that there is no different Andrew Pilgrim and Clifton answers, "maybe there would be if he met a different Otis Clifton."

The rules of this particular jungle call for another round; the interviewer comes again to catch the prospective employee with his guard down. On Tuesday Andrew Pilgrim, his neighbors and his relatives meet a second Otis Clifton. Clifton's reverential corporation attitude has given way to one that is cynical and even contemptuous. He scores a technical knockout in the second round, the filmsy façade crumbling before his verbal onslaught. That night, Marian, who'd promised Clifton before the start of Round 2 that regardless of the outcome she would dine with him afterwards, keeps her promise. Her plan is to use sex in the Biblical fashion to retrieve Andrew's aparently lost job.

It turns out that there is a third round on Wednesday. Round 3 with its aftermath is fought to what you might call a draw. It is a fight which Otis Clifton (a third variety) clearly wins – but which Andrew Pilgrim doesn't lose. Says the author, "Happy endings do exist even under distressing circumstances."

The Absence of a Cello is a hilarious book. And under its laugh-out-loud prose is a substantial amount of serious stuff. During Round 1, one is rooting for Andrew Pilgrim to carry off his deception. Sometime during Round 2 there begins a shifting of sympathies. We are made to see Pilgrim's shortcomings (he has chosen an unbecoming mask) and the Protean Clifton's virtues (he has made a success of his defeat). Whereas Pilgrim is Clifton's intellectual superior, it becomes clear that Proteus is Pilgrim's moral superior. Whereas William Whyte advocates cheating on these ludicrous personality tests, Ira Wallach would seem to be against it: the non-Organization-type would be miserable in a suit of gray flannel and the interviewer does him a great service by keeping him in his shirttails. Or as Clifton says to Andrew towards the end of Round 3, "If you want that job I'll see to it that you get it. . . . But Baldwin-Nelson's policies work, and they work very well indeed. My job is the search for talented mediocrities. . . . But when I come across a man like you my impulse is to move heaven and hell to keep him out."

THE CAMPAIGN AND ITS LITERATURE

The Art of Lying While Running

One of the most curious products of the campaign year is this unabashed ghost's dissertation on the ancient political art of lying while running. John Franklin Carter, a professional writer, has served with impartial enthusiasm Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman and Dewey. And why not? His services, like those of an attorney, are available to anyone who will retain him to present a legitimate case. Few men who come to high office are literary stylists, yet custom requires them to talk incessantly; the only sensible course is for them to hire experts; and, as we know, the laborer is worthy of his hire.

To accuse these characters of insincerity is to deny the maxim that it's a poor lawyer who can't believe in his own case; yet the ghost-writer, like the lawyer, is certainly at his best in presenting a case in which he believed before he was retained. One who has served all parties equally well then comes under suspicion of not believing anything except the efficiency of his own form of suasion; and one suspects that this is Mr. Carter's case.

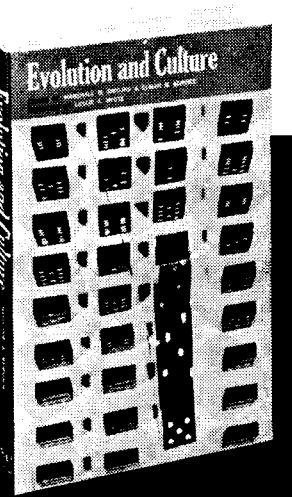
Power and Persuasion
By John Franklin Carter
(Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $3.95)

True, he formally repudiates the idea, more than once paying tribute to the power of sincerity; but the interest of the book is its explanation of the process of manipulating the truth in such a way as to perpetrate a deception without committing perjury. This practice is certainly widespread and highly effective; it is, therefore, to the interest of the voter to know how it is done, and Carter's manual is about as good as any treatment of the subject now available. It is better than most in that to lucidity it adds high entertainment value.

It must ever be borne in mind, though, that the ghost-writer, like all specialists, tends to overestimate the potency of his own contribution. "Naphtali is a hind let loose; he giveth goodly words." Nevertheless, he never figured importantly in the history of ancient Israel.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

"A forward-reaching and thought-inducing book. Whatever controversy it incites will be constructive." *C. E. Ayres.*



Evolution and Culture
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Leslie A. White
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MOVIES

Three for the Summer

Bells Are Ringing (MGM);
Strangers When We Meet (Columbia)
The Apartment (United Artists)

Some pictures should be approached with figurative napkin tucked under the chin and with knife and fork at the ready. *Bells Are Ringing* is a generous platter of goodies all covered with rich Technicolor gravy. You can enjoy it from start to finish and, after it, feel full but not stuffed.

This musical film was adapted by Betty Comden and Adolph Green from their Broadway success (songs by Jule Styne) and is by far the best work of that celebrated pair. The dialogue is bouncy, the lyrics good, which is to say neat and unpredictable; and the story – about a girl who works for a telephone-answering service – is sufficient. As with many recent musicals, particularly those set in cities, there are a few annoying "democratic" touches ("Say hello to the fellow next to you and he'll say hello right back." But do you really *want* to know him?), and people who buy their clothes at Klein's are more warm-hearted than Dior's customers. Outside of these occasional patent efforts to reconcile the balcony patrons to their virtues and good luck, the film is satisfying.

It was written for Judy Holliday, about whom I am slightly in the minority, perhaps because of my perspective about her. I used to see her with The Revuers, along with Miss Comden and Green, a group of very clever amateurs (at the time) who made the night-club stage their parlor. Her "legitimate" debut was as a sexy, touching, consciously and unconsciously funny broad. No, not in *Born Yesterday* – in *Kiss Them for Me*, the play that got her the subsequent, more famous role which was, in effect, a better, expanded version of the earlier one. She has been playing various versions of it ever since. I always see her as a girl for whom versatility was not the answer, who found the one thing she could sell – slightly dim-witted "heart" – and who, sometimes with the obvious aid of coaching, has been selling it ever since. Further, although most of the time she does it extremely well, I cannot escape the feeling that she has just won the cup as the most gifted guest of the season at Camp Klamitchee.

Add to this that, in her love scenes, she makes me feel that by means of a magic time-machine I am seeing a forty-ish aunt of mine in her romantic youth before marriage and plumpness overtook her and you can see that Miss Holliday will never be the most glamorous star in the world for me. But I know how solitary I am in my belief: and must admit that she never sets a foot wrong in this well-tailored role.

Vincente Minnelli, who understands musical films, has chosen to include a strong theatrical flavor. Musical numbers are staged to the camera as to an audience, and most of the show is played as if the scenes were stage sets – with actors entering and exiting. It would be clumsy in a "straight" film (as Minnelli certainly knows), but here it enhances the cozy artificiality and the sense that a sumptuous entertainment feast is being presented to *you*.

Strangers When We Meet is a pseudo-serious film based on Evan Hunter's pseudo-serious novel of marital infidelity. The story is built around the construction of a house – which was actually constructed during the making of the film – but the characterizations, the drama, the import, are all façade. Barbara Rush, an extraordinarily pretty young lady, is interesting as the deceived wife, but Kirk Douglas continues to dissipate his forces with inadequate performances in inadequate roles. The picture's chief amusement is unintentional. Kim Novak, the Other Woman, is capable vocally of only an unvaried strangulated hush; and she tells her little boy to drink his milk in the same soft intimate tone which she has just used to set a rendezvous with her lover.

Jack Lemmon is the kind of problem that American films need. He is a vigorous, highly talented, and technically equipped actor with a wide emotional range. Can Hollywood supply him with material that is good enough for him? In *Some Like It Hot* he had a superb farcical part which he played superbly; now the same film-makers (Billy Wilder and I. A. L. Diamond) have made a comedy-drama for him (*The Apartment*), with diminished success.

The part gives him isolated opportunities which he, of course, exploits to the full; but the script wanders from near-slapstick to the near-tragic; and the story is based on a tasteless gimmick. A bachelor employee of a huge corporation allows various married superiors to take their girl friends to his apartment so as to further his advance in the company. The idea of his being turned out of his bed in the middle of the night so that his boss and a bar-acquaintance may use it is of limited risibility.

You have only to see how Lemmon sustains the early harried scenes (the kind of fragile material very easy to fracture) and how he plays cards with the sick girl he loves (where he man-

Hegira

The swarming scarabs of the mind
gather to form their ritual rings.
I study but have not divined
the hieroglyphics of their feet.
Before their meaning is defined,
while still their rounds are incomplete,
the beetles dart on sudden wings
sunward. I watch them and go blind.

DILYS LAING

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ages to tell you delicately a number of things he doesn't say) to perceive that he is a genuine actor, not in the same universe with most of his film contemporaries, who are mere behavers. This picture is not good enough for him. Still, his performance makes it worth a visit.

Shirley MacLaine, opposite him, has her little specialty; she can "do" small-scale, snub-nosed humor appealingly enough. But see how flat she falls when she is called on for anything else – compassion, for instance.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

ART

Artists and the Archives

The Archives of American Art, founded about five years ago at the Detroit Institute of Arts and now operating a very energetic New York office (and planning a branch in Paris) differs from most similar institutions chiefly in aggressiveness. The archival synonym, "repository," completely conveys the quality of the conventional combination vault-and-permanent-waste-basket that archives have been through the centuries. Largely created, like painting and sculpture, by the vanity of princes, archives have only in modern times been pressed into other social uses, among them the writing, verifying or correcting of art history. Most archives, of course, were created with other ends in view and, beginning with Vasari, the historian has had to comb through bales of bills, contracts and trial records to find the laconic notation that the prince commissioned a portrait or a mural along with a banquet, an entertainment or a military expedition. Princely archivists, whether recording art or armies, kept their eyes firmly on the prince, with the result that many early artists have vanished between the lines, though their work endures and is admired. When the prince was replaced by the public as the chief support of art, the situation changed for the worse, for the public's principal archives are these of the police court. The industrious, law-abiding artist could pass through life with next to no record at all, while the man in trouble had his movements and his motives too well recorded. We know of Rembrandt's bankruptcy, for example, the auctioning off of his collection and public censure visited upon Hendrickje for living with him.

It is easy enough to say that such biographical knowledge affects our response to art not at all, but in the first place this is not true, and in the second it is not even a laudable ideal. Everything we know about an artist or his times contributes something to our understanding of his work. Obviously it is misleading to turn an examination of art objects into a meditation in biography or social history, although that temptation is more often succumbed to in relation to literature than to painting and sculpture. It is no less misleading to imagine that the individual work of art drops from the sky and exists wholly in, of and for itself.

By its very existence, the Archives of American Art will aid our general understanding of our country's art. By the style already established – aggressive – that aid will go far beyond the simple convenience achieved by having all available art documentation gathered in one place and, eventually, thoroughly indexed. That convenience itself will be considerable. The Detroit headquarters of the operation stems chiefly from the fact that the guiding spirit, and intellect, are those of E. P. Richardson, the Director of the Institute. All original records possible are being brought there. Those permanently located elsewhere are being photographed for microfilm, on which, eventually, the whole collection will be stored and used. Included are diaries, journals, ledgers, auction records, catalogues, correspondence, notices and reviews, as well as photographs of artists and their work.

At this point convenience is the main beneficiary, although in the case of much of the material convenience has passed into something like original discovery. But the Archives program is even more ambitious. A year and a half has been spent in Philadelphia – a key city for American art from the earliest times – microfilming the materials in the city's 14 museums and libraries. Thus there is building at Detroit a system of cross-reference designed to cover the whole of the American art field.

The operation has also borrowed the techniques in use for some decades by folklore and folksong students, as well as the brave souls trying to re-create the Gaelic language. One function of the New York office at present is the tape recording of interviews with American artists and people professionally involved with American art. Already taped are Isabel Bishop, Louis Bouché, Charles Burchfield, Charles Sheeler, Edward Hopper and William Zorach. Such interviews, beyond the interest in individual artists' own remarks on their own intentions and methods, throw light on milieux of American art that already seem as far away as those of Homer and Eakins.

This is aggressive archivism at its best, the effort to anticipate the needs of scholarship, which are ultimately the needs of general appreciation, and to make the material available.

The difference between all this activity and the repose of the repositories is clear enough, but aggression is due to go further still. Sometime in the near future the Archives program will enter another phase, that of actively getting its material used. Through grants-in-aid, scholars will be encouraged to begin the monumental task of passing along the collected material into the general appreciation of American art. The continuing effects upon American taste, and even upon the shape of American creativity to come, are likely to be as profound as those caused by photographic reproduction of art.

FRANK GETLEIN

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Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subject of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

No, No, No!

Sirs:

Is not *The New Republic* offering young John Kennedy too much, too soon? I refer, of course, to your editorial of June 20, "Those Who Prefer Adlai." There will be time for the Senator later. Meantime, it seems to many of your readers that you should have stayed with your first choice. A Stevenson nomination is by no means a "political impossibility" – though we should remember that the one-party press would like us to think so and is waiting with bated breath for a Kennedy nomination. When the Democratic convention deadlocks, it will turn to the Democratic lodestar – Adlai Stevenson. In the meantime, why should *The New Republic* settle for a good President when it can have a great one?

Margaret Halsey
White Plains, New York

Sirs:

After all that *The New Republic* has done for me through the years I cannot really be angry. But permit me, this once, to view my favorite journal of opinion with a censorious eye.

Your missive addressed to "Those Who Prefer Adlai" constitutes in my judgment the classic blooper-of-reasoning to which even the most gifted seer must, on rare occasion, fall victim. How unfortunate that the *faux pas* should come at such a damaging time!

The West was settled in the wake of a "California or Bust" propulsion. The rallying cry was never "Utah, If We Can't Make It All the Way." I cannot imagine a "vigorous young Administration" under the leadership of one who fell silent at the very peak of McCarthyism. Further, anyone who would apply the phrase "political impossibility" to a national convention of the Democratic Party cannot – surely – have attended one in person.

I watched Governor Stevenson's nomination from the floor at Chicago in '56 and expect to be a witness to whatever happens in Los Angeles next month. Stevenson was twice nominated for two reasons: (1) he was the best candidate available and (2) the hard core of his support never wavered. The first condition is still obvious. As to the second, it ill behooves those in a position of leadership to begin casting about for second best before the battle begins.

What we need at this hour, it seems to me, is less concern about what others may do. To our own best selves we should be true.

Of course, as father of a five-year-old son named Adlai, I may be prejudiced.

C. William Platt
Wichita, Kansas

Sirs:

Congratulations on your courageous and perceptive editorial, "Those Who Prefer Adlai." Nothing could be less palatable or more disastrous than a compromise which settled on either Johnson or Symington as the Democratic nominee.

I believe Kennedy has the capacity to win and be the energetic type of President we need; and like you, I believe Stevenson and Bowles can make vital and far-reaching contributions as ranking members of a Kennedy Administration. The loss of these three men, because their separate supporters fail to coordinate their efforts, would be a tragedy.

Robert L. Zanbrando
Philadelphia, Pa.

Sirs:

Your lead editorial (June 20) is most surprising to us as well as shocking. We take great exception to your statement that Stevenson's nomination is a "political impossibility." After all, his availability and status as a candidate for nomination is a matter of semantics, as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt so aptly expressed it. We feel with others that Senator Kennedy is entirely too immature to measure up to the tremendous responsibilities that come with the President's office in this grave time of crisis. This judgment is based not on his physical age, but on the premise that his life has been sheltered, and that he has been brought up under a surrounding which thinks that anything and everything and anybody has a price, and can be bought with money.

Grover H. Rapps
Anna M. Rapps
Maywood, Illinois

Sirs:

To say that Stevenson's candidacy is now politically impossible is wholly premature. . . . If Stevenson is not leading or gaining by the third or fourth ballot there will be ample time to switch to Kennedy. Until then, why look for a better candidate when there isn't one? Remember how strong Kefauver looked before the conventions.

P. L. Forstall
Evanston, Illinois

Sirs:

Having heard John Kennedy on Jack Paar's show during the evening of June 16, I am not at all convinced that he would be a better choice for President than Symington or Johnson. It was not enough that he would appear on the show of clowns and buffoons. But having heard him expound on his proposed policy toward China, which sounded as adamant, rigid, and uncompromising as the policy of the Western powers toward Russia after the latter's revolution, I can only decide that he has learned nothing from history, and is prepared to repeat the mistakes of the past.

Alice DeGanton Schrank
Bay City, Michigan

Sirs:

As I see it, Kennedy cannot be nominated on the first ballot as things now stand, for Johnson has enough votes to prevent it. After the first ballot, Johnson will try for the nomination but according to all I have read and heard, he cannot possibly make it. Then according to one columnist (and this was a flat statement), Johnson has promised his votes to Stevenson if he cannot win. It looks to me that there is a fairly good chance of this happening. So why throw away

"MASS EXTERMINATION *is despicable. But should we sanction an effort by Pope John to abduct, bring to trial within the Vatican boundaries, and execute La Pasionaria for systematically torturing and killing members of the Catholic clergy in Spain? The moment has come to say: Do not, in the heat of passion, honor Adolf Eichmann by permitting him to become, through the response to his corruption, an instrument for corrupting the guardian processes of the law.*"

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such a chance by going all-out for Kennedy even before the convention starts?

Jessie Matson
New York, N. Y.

Sirs:

My reply *The New* Republic's suggestion that "Those Who Prefer Adlai" switch to Senator Jack Kennedy to make certain Symington or Johnson should not get the nomination is NO! Stevenson will be watching events at the convention with his clear eye and mind. If the danger should arise that Symington or Johnson might snatch the candidacy I am sure he will move in time to help Kennedy. Until such time let each of us who knows how desperately America and the free world needs Adlai Stevenson back him to the hilt.

Allen Klein, Chairman
Stevenson-for-President
Committee of Mount Vernon, N.Y.

Sirs:

I take the motives behind your editorial in the June 20 issue at face value, and one must respect them. . . . Let us by all means face the realities. But one of the realities we must face, I suspect, is that if this country is to be "a three-time loser of its greatest leader since Lincoln" (as a Connecticut man put it in a letter to *The New York Times*), it is because those who saw him so had no faith in the hope he had given them and were only too willing to settle for the doubtful good, in our time, of a second-best.

Mrs. Albert Bloch
Lawrence, Kansas

Sirs:

What are you talking about! If ever we needed Adlai Stevenson we need him NOW! Of course he could win if nominated. Young Kennedy could not; Mr. Kennedy is no more fitted for that stupendous job that you are! He should be delighted to serve as Vice President to Mr. Stevenson to gain experience in world know-how. Just what has he accomplished outside of becoming a millionaire through his father's efforts and winning a seat in the Senate? He is still engaged in rearing babies. Let him do that first and grow in wisdom before he aspires to the presidency. Now is the time to send a man, not a boy, to the White House. I, for one, will not vote for Kennedy at this time. He does not have the necessary qualifications. Now is the time for greatness! We need the BEST man we can find.

Anne L. Alexander
Columbus, Ohio

Sirs:

I was shocked to read that the editors of *The New Republic* has joined the ranks of those, like Schlesinger and Commager, who wish to give the voting public the impression of a general movement away from Adlai Stevenson.

I agree with you that Governor Stevenson is the best on the political horizon for many a year but disagree violently with your statement that his nomination is a political impossibility.

There are many serious minded citizens working throughout the fifty states to secure the nomination for Stevenson. They are aware, of coure, of the risks involved. But they are calculated risks and well worth taking; the possibility of Johnson or Symington nominations notwithstanding.

Robert J. Cooke
Syracuse University

Who Won What in Florida?

Sirs:

I was disappointed to read *The New Republic's* remarks (June 13) on Florida's recent gubernatorial election in which you rate the defeat of Doyle E. Carlton, Jr., as a segregationist victory.

Both Carlton and his opponent, C. Farris Bryant, advocated the maintenance of segregation in all its forms, and both men repudiated Governor Collins' eloquent statement on lunch-counter discrimination. Thus, there was no significant difference between the two on racial policy, and it came to a question of qualifications, Bryant being a 46-year old Harvard-educated attorney with a creditable record as Speaker of the State House of Representatives, Carlton being a 37-year-old cattleranch-er lacking a college education and any substantial governmental achievements.

Incidently, former Governor Carlton, whom you cite as "a moderate," opposed the election of Al Smith in 1928 solely because Smith was a Catholic. Hoover carried Florida by a narrow margin.

John H. Langbein
West Long Beach, Florida

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in a letter to Harold Laski, November 22, 1929

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